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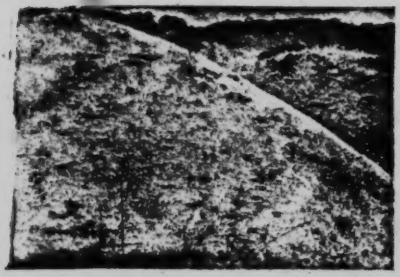

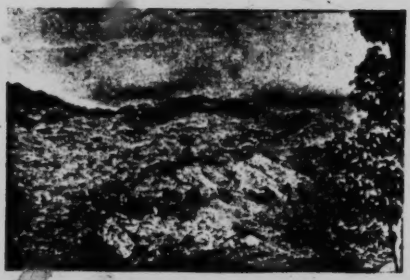

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(upper left)—New *ladangs* planted with upland rice and maize on a steep slope. Notice the young second-growth forest on the second slope and the older forest in the background. Residency of Tapanoeli, Sumatra.

(upper right)—New *caingins* on slopes in second-growth forest. West of Baguio, Mountain Province, Luzon.

(center left)— Ladang of upland rice and maize on level land. Residency of the East Coast of Sumatra.

(center right)—New caingin ready for the first planting. The flimsy hut will be abandoned, together with the caingin, after one harvest. South of Sagnay, Camarines Sur Province, Luzon.

(lower left)—Guarding the ripening rice against birds from a temporary shelter in a ladang. The man has a permanent house in the village. Residency of the East Coast of Sumatra.

(lower right)—Well built village house of a shifting cultivator who raises pepper in his old ladangs. Residency of the Lampoeng Districts, Sumatra.

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called the "Great Tradition" in an agrarian society.[13]

The links between country and city in this basically feudal relationship were clear, consecutive, and relatively simple to define. To be sure, the villager would regard the capital as a different world from his own, but it was nevertheless a largely comprehensible world, if associated with abstractions and refinements beyond his immediate ken.[14] The modern great city of Southeast Asia, however, not only was different but was also incomprehensible to the child of the folk society, who came to regard it not merely as strange and foreign but also as hostile. The "foreignness" is reflected in their ethnic composition. Until the second World War at least the largest population group in Rangoon was Indian; Singapore is primarily a Chinese city; Bangkok is very largely Chinese, as is Saigon if Cholon, its twin city, is included; both Manila and Jakarta have large foreign and Chinese elements. To this extent the great city is more metropolitan than national. Each has its Chinese, European, and native quarters, for example, although in many instances the lines of division have become blurred, especially since the close of the war.[15] Furthermore, wherever Chinese populations are large, a predominant type of house is the so-called "shophouse," a two-or-more-story building with shops on the first floor, built to a standard width originally dictated by the length of the average fir-log lintel as used in South China, and with residential flats and

[13] See Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, "A Cultural Role of Cities," a working paper for the Conference on the Role of Cities in Economic Growth and Cultural Change, University of Chicago, May 24–26, 1954.

[14] Cf. J. M. van der Kroef, "The Indonesian City: Its Culture and Evolution," *Asia*, March, 1953.

[15] In Singapore the Chinese are localised according to the various so-called "clans," e.g., Hokkien, Cantonese, Tiuchiu, Hailams, and Hakka (see B. W. Hodder, "Racial Groupings in Singapore," *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, October, 1953).

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cubicles behind and above.[16] Usually constructed in continuous rows and back to back, this type of tenement is among the more conspicuous evils in Southeast Asian cities. On the urban peripheries and wherever interstices appear in the modern street and housing pattern, slum villages appear which consist of house clusters usually constructed of bamboo and *atap* palm, highly inflammable and unsanitary.[17] These also are found in and on the margins of the lesser cities but are most striking in juxtaposition to the sleek boulevards of Singapore, Bangkok, and Jakarta.

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A further index of the cultural and economic pluralism of the great cities is their frequent division into old and new towns. In China, especially in the treaty ports, this distinction is usually between an old Chinese and a modern foreign city. The same is true of India. In Southeast Asia the contrast is most often between an old and a modern town both of Western origin, as in Jakarta, Manila, Singapore, and Rangoon. To a notable degree each of these is also a planned city. In Saigon the contrast is between predominantly Chinese Cholon and Saigon itself. In Bangkok, however, there are the old Siamese castle town, a new town of indigenous origin, though of European design, and a Chinese town or quarter nearly as old as the castle town itself. Pluralism is seen not merely in the division of a city into old and new parts or into quarters but also in the separation of the predominantly outward-oriented great city from an up-coun-

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[16] For a description of the "shophouse" see R. H. Hughes, "Hong Kong: An Urban Study," *Geographical Journal*, March, 1951, pp. 9–10.

[17] These areas, the so-called "kampongs," are historically enclaves of the countryside within the city. They form small social cells which together cover most of the surface area in and on the margins of the great cities. Separately, they constitute the rural villages, which in the densely settled portions of Java, for example, are so closely spaced that they collectively exhibit population densities as high as those in many cities (see photographs in J. M. Fraser, "Town Planning and Housing in Singapore," *Town Planning Review*, January, 1953).

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31:Scherman--4A E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Southeast Asia AL1

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[p. 204]
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[For description see page 4, Category 116. - Analyst]

31: Scherman--74 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma Burmese AP4 Southeast Asia AL1 Khasi AR7

K 342 generally used follows from a once ruling law which forbade the Khasi the use of nails for house construction as being "sang," i.e. taboo (78). It remains a question whether the Khasi

78. Gurdon, pp. 30 ff. Cf. above, p. 206, fn. 1.

K [177] house with its curved roof form reflects the building style of the Bengali, who also in other respects influenced the customs of the Khasi (79),

79. To be sure the roof ridge of the Bengal hut is evenly curved toward both sides and the entrance is from the broad side. This roof style is a distinctive architectural theme with temples and tombs of Bengal, as Monmohan Chakravarti in "Bengali Temples and Their General Characteristics" Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 5 (Calcutta, 1909), p. 160 explains in detail. But whether the relation with the Pallava architecture of South India exists, as conjectured here on p. 147, seems to me very doubtful.

or whether the roof, sloping down in front and projecting broadly over the entrance wall must be considered as a modification of the veranda awning of the pile dwellings.

* * *

B S 342 From the numerous types presented above is it somehow possible to prove a homogenous development? /234/ Without vague hypotheses, in view of the inadequacy of the historical sources of the Indochinese ethnographical groups, a line of direction

31: Scherman--75 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Southeast Asia AL-1
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can only be hinted at.

Out of the whole series of pile dwellings, I want to lump together as the main types:

1. The Burmese type, i.e. a) the house with its front and entrance at the broad side from where a veranda projects with roof and side walls which give the impression of being an integral part of the house; behind it, above the ground, on a higher level the family rooms; b) the house, consisting of individual roofed sections, surrounded on two or three sides by an open platform. The joining of the posts and roof beams at a) and b) in accordance with the manner indicated above in Figure 1 (80).

80. According to the classification by Frobenius (cf. above, p. 203, fn. 1) the roof support of the central Oceanic architectural area (Barla-Bauten /Barla Buildings/, ibid., p. 577 and atlas, p. 57) No. 5 and 11 "Seram" would have to be used as a parallel.

2. The house of the Shan and of some of the tribes who live in their vicinity (Palaung, Intha, etc.), with a fan-shaped awning which is joined at both gable sides; at the front gable side a veranda over which one reaches the entrance. Post joints and roof beams as in 1.

3. The house with long straight roof, the ridge and sides of which rest on three rows of posts, and which projects far beyond the entrance wall. In front of the entrance often no veranda but more frequently at the rear, sometimes at both places. The Kachin, Chin, and Assam tribes build in this manner.

All the other forms constitute intermediate steps or hybrid types.

The question, what causes the choice of the

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pile dwelling or of the ground level house cannot, in my opinion, be decisively answered. One might be justified to think in certain instances of hygienic measures, of protection against animals or hostile attacks, of floods, etc., and it might be very instructive to observe here and there the disappearance of the pile dwelling with rising civilization; but no generally valid rule can be arrived at from all this. Decisive is only the tribal custom--for the dissemination, spread, or suppression of which similar conditions are responsible, as they are in the adoption of other cultural values.